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man. Strange it is to see conquerors compelling the conquered to take blessings at their hands! Strange, to behold victors claiming no right over the vanquished but to secure to them equal rights with themselves! Strange and happy sight, prophetic of far-reaching good and far-shining glory, to behold the masters of dominion consulting no selfish interests, knowing, indeed, no selfish interests, but in all arrangements, in all schemes, proposing only to extend the limits of the principles from which they have derived their power, and which are to them the sources of perennial happiness and strength! This is the subjugation of the South,—to reduce her from slavery to liberty, from injustice to justice, from oppressive privileges to equal rights and privileges, from barbarism to civilization. This is the restoration of the Union,—to restore the people of every section to peace that shall be inviolable, because founded on the principles which support the pillars of the universe, and to progress that shall be as continuous as the life of mankind.

ART. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Speeches of ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States. With a Biographical Introduction, by FRANK MOORE.* Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1865.

THIS book will not want for readers. It is announced as being “published with the sanction and consent of the President,” and as containing “full reports of all the important speeches made by him since his entrance into public life.” It contains, also, a “Biographical Introduction” by the editor,—of which the best that we can say is, that it is a tolerably good performance; any authentic account, however, of this sort, is interesting now, and we get from this one a pretty fair acquaintance with the main facts of the President’s life. Some valuable extracts from speeches which are not printed in the body of the book are given in this part of it; and, best of all, the report and full account of that remarkable address to the colored people of Nashville, in which the speaker rose to such a noble height of feeling, and dilated

with such a genuine apprehension of the sentiment of human brotherhood as neither his countrymen nor he himself can ever well forget. "Looking," said he, "at this vast crowd of colored people, and reflecting through what a storm of persecution and obloquy they are compelled to pass, I am almost induced to wish that, as in the days of old, a Moses might arise who should lead them safely to their promised land of freedom and happiness."

"You are our Moses," shouted several voices; and the exclamation was caught up and cheered until the Capitol rang again.

"God, no doubt, has prepared somewhere an instrument for the great work he designs to perform in behalf of this outraged people; and in due time your leader will come forth, your Moses will be revealed to you."

"We want no Moses but you," again shouted the crowd.

"Well, then, humble and unworthy as I am, if no other better shall be found, I will indeed be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to a fairer future of liberty and peace. I speak now as one who feels the world his country, and all who love equal rights his friends. I speak, too, as a citizen of Tennessee. . . . Loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control her destinies; and when this strife in which we are all engaged is past, I trust, I know, we shall have a better state of things, and shall all rejoice that honest labor reaps the fruit of its own industry, and that every man has a fair chance in the race of life."

These memorable words were spoken on October 24th, 1864, — hardly more than a fortnight before Governor Johnson was elected to be the Vice-President of the United States, and in full view of the certainty of that result. If we find little in these collected "Speeches" which may be cited as indicating the same tone and purpose that mark the address at Nashville, there is also little that indicates a sentiment at variance with it; while, on the other hand, the characteristic and the marked quality of all the speeches is in harmony with it.

Mr. Johnson, by birth and the force of circumstances and by his deepest convictions and instincts, is a man of the people. He has chosen, all his life, to be their spokesman and advocate, and has borne, not seldom, the reproach of being accounted a demagogue. The candid reader, however, that follows him in his successive speeches, cannot doubt the sincerity of the convictions that carry him always in favor of the people's cause. With this best of all groundworks for statesmanship, the President mingles plain, practical sagacity, and a strong adherence to a few simple principles of political faith that sank into him in early life from the example of Andrew Jackson. It has been with him as Wordsworth said of the Tyrolese, —

“ A few strong instincts and a few plain rules,
Among the herdsmen of the Alps, have wrought
More for mankind at this unhappy day
Than all the pride of intellect and thought.”

In 1848, when complaint was made of the exercise of the veto power, as if that power were only a despotic instrumentality for thwarting the wishes of the people, Mr. Johnson stood up in the House of Representatives, and defended the exercise of the power with the simplest good sense. “The veto,” he said, “as exercised by the Executives, is conservative, and enables the people through their tribunitial officer, the President, to arrest or suspend for the time being unconstitutional, hasty, and improvident legislation, until the people, the sovereigns in this country, have time and opportunity to consider of its propriety.”

And so again, in 1860 and 1861, he held strenuously out against the specious demagogues of his section and his party, — “faithful among the faithless found,” — in favor of the national authority.

We have said that Mr. Johnson is a man of the people. Mr. Lincoln also was a man of the people. Both were born in a Slave State; but Lincoln was reared in a Free State, and Johnson in a Slave State. It is common to say that the struggles of a poor white in a Slave State are likely to breed in him a hatred of that aristocratic class by whom power is there monopolized and labor held in contempt. But this may well be doubted. There is a subtle, flattering power in the working of slavery which is apt to corrupt even the very class which should hate it, and even the champions of that class. It is a common matter of remark among such plain, unlettered poor men of the South as may happen to have visited the North, that they find here tenfold as much of aristocratic feeling and contempt of the poor as they have ever seen at the South. Any one, on the other hand, who has travelled at the South, must have noticed, especially in the rural parts of it, the great familiarity of intercourse that prevails there between the poor whites and the rich; it is far greater than anything we generally see at the North. This is partly owing, no doubt, to that general want of education at the South which assimilates all classes to each other, and partly, also, to the natural influences of secluded agricultural life; but the chief reason of it lies in the fact that the poor white *is white*, and so belongs to the superior caste. He may be poor, ignorant, immoral, and uncleanly, but he is nevertheless one of the nobles. In the presence of that other element of a degraded black race, all differences between white men disappear; they really become brethren, and a true democratic feeling springs up, — one which is far more thoroughgoing,

as among the whites, than can easily be found in any Northern community. But what a grave qualification of the democratic principle is that which is indicated by the words *as among the whites!* Here lurks the whole deadly poison of caste and aristocracy, fatal to the real brotherhood of men, fatal to democracy, fatal, as we have lately so clearly seen from the monstrous utterances and the shameful and desperate endeavors of the slave-owning Rebels, when they had once grown confident and full-fed, to the life of all forms of free institutions.

It was the felicity of Mr. Lincoln's life that he grew up free of this influence. The lot of Mr. Johnson has been less happy. But now all things in this country have become new; slavery has gone down under the weight of blows which the President himself has vigorously helped to give; this ugly enemy has been discovered and expelled, and there is nothing among us henceforth to check the free scope of popular ideas. If the instincts and life-long beliefs of the President fail now to extend themselves so as to cover the case of black men as well as white men, we have misjudged his character and have misread these Speeches.

2. — *Speeches of JOHN BRIGHT, M. P., on the American Question.*
With an Introduction by FRANK MOORE. Boston: Little, Brown,
and Company. 1865.

THE event of the war in this country has set Mr. Bright in a position more enviable than that of any other statesman in England. He has had no part or lot in any of those unfriendly acts which have come upon this country, in her great need, with such a chilling influence. He has never, like Mr. Gladstone, been deluded by the temporary, phenomenal successes of the Southern Rebels into the entertaining or the utterance of a belief in their success; nor has he ever, like Earl Russell, failed to discern the true nature of the effort made on either side in the recent contest. Never once has he doubted our cause, or hesitated to go out to meet and succor us, alike in victory and disaster, with the sympathy of a passionate and manly heart. More than this, with a sagacity worthy of the best statesmanship, he has discerned and made manifest to the world the links that bound the glory and the interests of England to the cause for which we fought. Long before the war began, he warned his countrymen that the prosperity of England was unstable so long as it rested upon the production of cotton by slave labor, and urged them to see to it in season that the field of cotton cultivation was widened. In 1847, in the House of Commons, he moved the appointment of a commission to inquire into the whole question of